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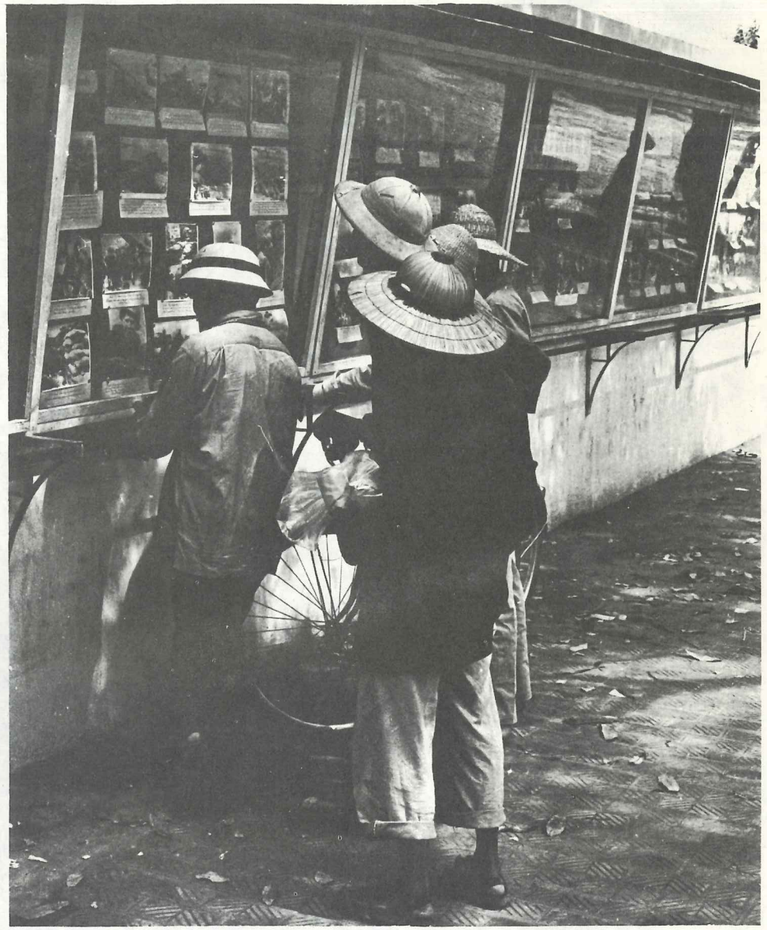
Six times a month a passenger plane flies from Saigon (via Phnom Phen Cambodia) to Hanoi. A month ago three other American students and I arrived in Phnom Phen to take that plane. We were invited by the National Student Union of North Vietnam to visit their country. Each of us worked in some form of the anti-war movement, SDS, Liberation News Service, and the Resistance. We were the first American students to visit North Vietnam.

The trip lasted three weeks, two of which were spent in North Vietnam and one in Laos and Cambodia. Had I not lived in Guatemala for a year or smelt the open sewers of the back streets in Laos or seen the ragged children in Cambodia, I would not have appreciated the contrast in North Vietnam. Hanoi and all the cities and villages we visited are extremely clean, and nowhere did we find the typical smells of poverty and underdevelopment.

During the afternoons, after long, exhausting meetings and trips, we usually had free time to walk around Hanoi alone. Though our guides were not with us at that time and we did not speak Vietnamese, we could see whatever we wanted to and go wherever our wandering took us. It was refreshing to see a city's parks, lakes and clean streets uncluttered by billboards and flashing neon.

Before we arrived in Hanoi we saw a movie in Paris called The 17th Parallel, showing life in the town of Vinh Linh, just north of the demarcation line. Community life continues normally except that everything is underground because of the intense bombing. The movie showed the games the Vietnamese children play. In the United States when children play cowboys and Indians, cops and robbers or some other form of the goodguy-badguy syndrome, the tallest, strongest kid gets to be the goodguy. In North Vietnam, the biggest child plays the part of the American pilot who is shot down and captured by the 'little' Vietnamese. In our Western culture, he who has the greatest material prowess (as a child, physical strength) is by definition better. In North Vietnam what is valued is not material strength but the use to which that strength is put.

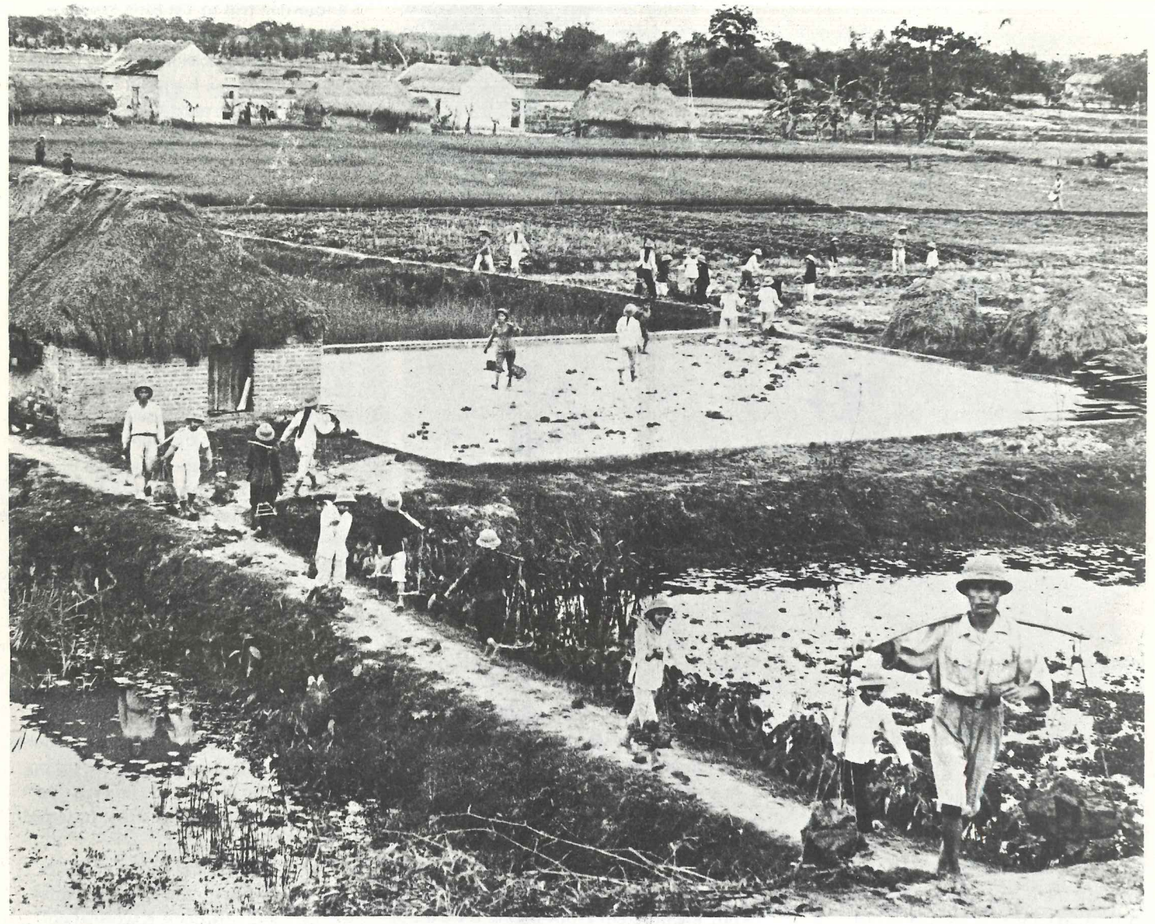
What we saw in the movie was to be confirmed by what we saw in North Vietnam. On all levels the war has helped to eliminate class differences. Everyone's job or skill has become essential to the protection and development of the country and therefore everyone seems to feel that he is making a meaningful contribution. Ditch diggers become heroes because they can,



Citizens of Hanoi peruse communiques and photos from the NLF.

with amazing speed, dig one man air-raid shelters which provide complete protection from anti-personnel bombs. Truck drivers are lauded in all the Vietnamese magazines for their courage and skill in driving overloaded trucks to the front. Old women too weak to work in the fields, insure the safety of the trucks by sewing together bits of faded green cloth as camouflage. Even the smallest children contribute by collecting leaves which have fallen onto the tree-lined roads. The leaves then decompose to make 'green fertilizer' for the rice paddies The increased rice production allows the peasant militia units to receive more food which will help them shoot down B-52's. And so it goes.

At first we could not fully understand that class differences in North Vietnam are beginning to disappear. For us initially, it was a theoretical concept. We were told for example, that the difference in income between the highest and lowest paid worker is only three to one. I asked Thanh Duong, the editor of a student newspaper, 'You say that the wage difference between workers is very slight. But what about the class differences between the editor of a newspaper for example, and a waitress in a restaurant?' His answer seemed to sum up what he had been saying The best way to find out about the differences in social standing between the editor and the waitress is to ask the waitress.'



Shock troops reinforcing bombed dike.

The following day I went to speak with a waitress. A few minutes after we began to talk an air-raid siren went off. United States reconnaissance planes were 30 miles away. Suddenly she disappeared and instantly reappeared with a pith helmet and a rifle over her shoulder. She was the head of the militia unit for that building. She ushered everyone to safety, gave orders to the men who served with her and helped keep over 100 people safe and calm. My question had been answered.

In many respects the war has facilitated the establishment of socialism in North Vietnam, in spite of the fact that the fighting has temporarily limited the economic development. The war has necessitated the decentralization of virtually everything--schools, hospitals, factories and decisions.

We went to visit the decentralized University of Mining and Geology in Ha Bac Province. Classes for 1000 students had been held in Hanoi until 1965. When U.S. planes began bombing schools it was necessary to evacuate the college to the countryside. The University in Ha Bac Province presently consists of 1500 students. The enrollment has increased because now students do not have to travel the long distance to Hanoi but come from the neighboring provinces. They study in one room clay huts which they built themselves, scattered through acres of rice paddies, linked by a maze of canals.

The university system in North Vietnam is based on the belief that education must be more than book learning. It must be an integration of 'theory and practice'. Inside one of their decentralized clay hut labs--filled with flasks, burettes, and bunsen burners--their chemistry instructor told us, 'We do not only study here. We must also make many of the chemicals we need for our classes.' He showed me a jar of CuSO4 (Copper Sulfate) which they had made from minerals in their province. They have had to make many of the simple instruments which they could not bring from Hanoi. In one physics lab we visited, the students had made a crude but functional instrument to measure the focal distance of lenses. Because students have worked to create the university, they seem proud of it, and give one the sense that it is theirs.

The students live in the homes of the peasants and spend time working with

them in the fields during harvest. One peasant told me that his son was serving in the army but that now a student is living with him and 'he has become a member of our family.'

Students also teach the supplementary classes given in the cooperatives. One of these classes which we visited was held during the hottest part of the day when agricultural work is not done. The class consisted of about 20 older women who were studying to complete the first form (fourth grade) of education. As we were leaving, the oldest woman in the class, who was 49 years of age, came over to us and said, 'Our teacher is young like you but he teaches well. When we graduate we will be able to help teach those who have not finished the first form of school. In Vietnam, those who know three letters teach those who know one.'

When we returned to Hanoi we had a meeting with the Minister of Higher Education, Ta Quang Buu (in 1954 he was the Vietnamese delegate to the Geneva Conference) to find out what would happen to the university after the war; how could the integration of 'theory and practice' be retained; how could students and peasants continue to work together once the war had ended? 'What will endure when the war is over? After the war the colleges will not be in bamboo and leaves. We need cement, steel and buildings. A college has material walls but we must destroy its social walls. This is done very easily in time of evacuation. But afterwards, it is a problem. In some sense peace comes too soon, too early. We are not bellicists but the problem is difficult and we are studying it.'

Perhaps after the war the Vietnamese will be able to maintain a society where universities continue in the countryside and students and peasants can work together. It is possible that factories will remain decentralized so that overgrown cities do not crowd people out. A feeling of personal identity now exists between workers and the products they create. Workers we spoke to in the Tran Hung Dao factory in Hanoi feel that their labor has made three diesel engines which now will produce shirts in the new textile factory in Tanh Hoa Province. How to maintain this revolutionary integration and dedication after the war, is a basic problem yet to be solved.

Several days after our meeting with the Minister we were told by our host from the Youth Union that we might go on a four day trip to Tai Binh Province. 'Of course', he said, 'because of decentralization all decisions about the Province must come from the Youth Union in Tai Binh. We must wait to hear from them before this trip is definite.' Perhaps waiting for confirmation was only a formality. But the existence of such formalities suggests respect for the wishes of the people in the countryside.

On our way to Tai Binh, a totally agricultural province, our guide Tzu told us that in 1945 under the French 300,000 people in this province starved to death because of lack of food. Today it is the richest agricultural province in the country and everyone has enough to eat. 'But my telling you', he added, 'will not convince you. You must see for yourself.' How could agricultural production be increasing during the war? Hadn't American bombs destroyed much of their crop? We stopped at the Tan Hoa cooperative and asked these questions to several peasants working in the fields. One man said, with a growing smile, 'Some of our rice has been burnt. But we have begun to plant sweet potatoes. You know, burnt rice makes excellent fertilizer for sweet potatoes.'

Every family in the cooperative has its own home but all land except for small family gardens, is worked collectively. Membership in the coop, we were told, is voluntary and 5 percent of the peasants do not belong.

The fields were radiantly green though 'technology' was conspicuously absent. Villagers sang us songs praising their model six ton per hectare fields. The tunes were traditional; the words were of revolutionary achievement. The peasants, still unaccustomed to hearing the new verses which other peasants had written, chuckled while listening to the songs about their own fields.

As we walked back to our car we passed a fish hatchery in the middle of a rice paddy. I asked a worker when they began raising fish. 'On December 14, U S planes dropped seven bombs on our village. We filled in six of the craters. The seventh we made a little larger, built up the walls with clay and bought

draft action group and resistance join forces

WHO WE ARE:

The beginning of the Draft Action Group can be traced to the winter of 1966–67 when Staughton and Alice Lynd ran a series of informal seminars on the draft: Yale students and friends met in the Lynds' living room and discussed the political and moral problems the draft raised for them. Alice Lynd was then New Haven's principal draft counselor, and since she and her family were moving to Chicago in the spring, the idea of a Draft Information Center, staffed by volunteer counselors, was proposed. Volunteers came from the seminars; following training provided by the American Friends Service Committee, they opened an office in the First Methodist Church at 425 College Street.

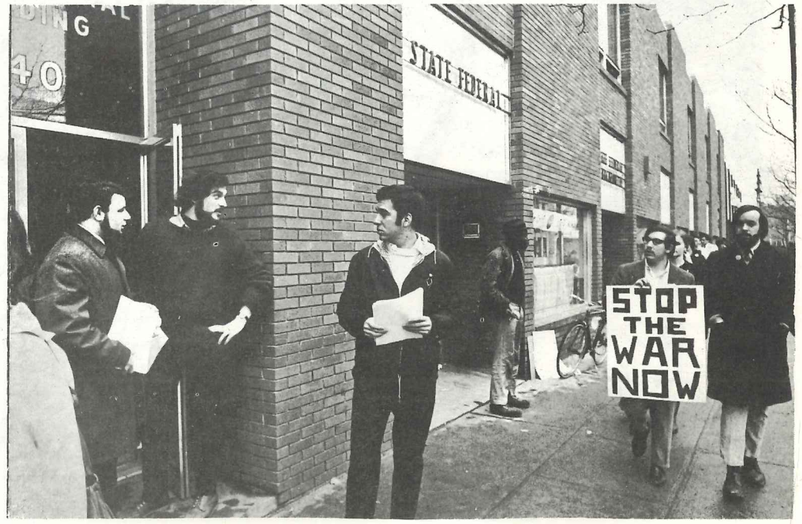
Shortly after the office opened some of the counselors began to have doubts about the political relevance of their work. There was clearly a need for information about the draft; the steady stream of men with questions proved that. But the counselors wondered if the kind of counseling they were doing said enough, if it really confronted the critical questions. These counselors saw the Selective Service System as fundamentally coercive and discriminatory—not just malfunctional. To answer questions about the draft without saying that seemed both inadequate and dishonest. Moreover, they saw the Selective Service System as only one of a number of evils in American society; to talk about it in isolation was to distort it. In the months between summer and late fall, their ideas about how to deal politically with the issues raised by the draft crystallized: the result was the Draft Action Group.
(The Draft Information Center has continued to function. It offers information about alternatives to the draft, and is staffed by a new group of counselors.)

WHAT WE DO:

The explicit purpose of the Draft Action Group was to organize around the draft, in the hope that exposure to the coercive nature of the Selective Service System would make people aware of other coercive institutions—the schools and the welfare system, for example. A skillful counsellor could (in addition to providing straightforward draft counseling) raise fundamental questions about American foreign policy, its economic roots and their domestic consequences. Thus those who came with questions about their draft status might begin to ask themselves what America was all about, and, hopefully, begin to work with us. Counseling could also be a radicalizing experience for newly-trained counselors, as it had been for those who worked at the Draft Information Center.

But everyone agreed that organizing around the draft meant more than just counseling. The office at 241 Orange Street was intended to be a base of operations, rather than the focus of activity. Fundamental to the thinking of those who started the Draft Action Group was the idea that it was vital to move draft work off the campus—especially the Yale campus—and out into the community—especially into the neighborhoods where poor families are hardest hit by the war and the draft.

It was not until the Draft Action Group got together with the Resistance that community work really began to get off the ground. The Resistance in New Haven had previously concentrated its efforts on draft card turn-ins. The rallies at which this took place drew impressive crowds, and the idea of non-violent resistance to which they were witness caught the imagination of large numbers of students. After Christmas many of these students—both those who turned in their cards and their supporters—gathered together for weekly dinners that generated a warm sense of community. An obvious way of following up the Resistance program on the campus was to involve its people in the kind of ongoing organizing which the Draft Action Group was struggling to get underway. A recent decision to coordinate the efforts of the two groups has produced a spate of new activity.



Current programs include:

1. I–A–
   Volunteers go to the local draft boards (nos. 8, 9, 10) and copy a list of those who were classified I–A at their most recent meetings. It is possible to find addresses and phone numbers for about half of those on the list. These names and phone numbers are then called. The caller identifies himself and the Draft Action Group, explains how the man's name was obtained, and offers any help the Draft Action Group can give. The response has been surprisingly good. Only a small percentage of those called have been hostile; frequently men say they will stop by the office, although those who have done calling feel that follow-up visits to men in their homes are essential.

2. Induction Center–
   Workers go to the induction center each morning to leaflet and talk to the men being processed. It is possible to distinguish those having physicals from inductees because inductees usually have bags and manila envelopes; those who are there for physicals are handed pocket-sized printed cards on which are listed deferments for which they might be eligible. The card displays the name and address of the Draft Action Group.

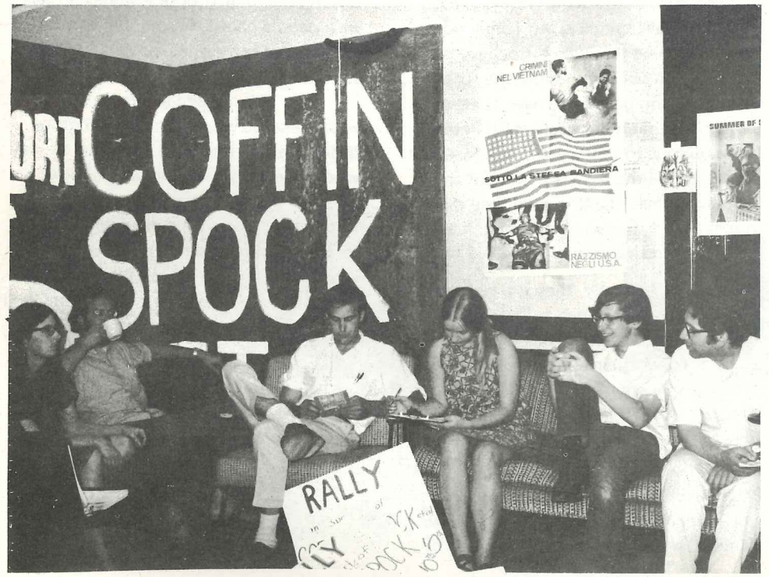
3. Canvassing–
   This is a new project with great possibilities. Canvassers visit places where young men hang out—clubs, street corners, drugstores, etc. The canvassers use a leaflet which begins "Do you know anyone in Vietnam? Did he want to go?" and then lists possible alternatives to induction.

4. Counseling and Counselor training:
   There is at least one trained counselor in the office every afternoon from 1–5 p.m. and Saturday mornings from 10 to 1. He or she will attempt to answer any kind of question about the draft. Some counselors are Resistors, some are pacifists, some are beyond draft age. If a registrant wants to talk to some one with a particular perspective, an appointment is arranged with the appropriate counselor. So far between three and four hundred people have come to ask for help. New counselors are trained in 4-week courses; meetings take place in the office every Thursday night starting at 8 p.m. The training includes an introduction to the Selective Service System; the appeal process; conscientious objection; physical standards and induction center procedure; Canada; and general discussion of the counselling relationship. About 50 people have been trained to date.

5. Draft board research–
   Names, addresses, occupations and other relevant information about all the draft boards in Connecticut is being compiled. In addition, a card is made for each person who is counseled; these cards are tabbed according to draft board classification desired, classification received, etc., so that a file on the way local draft boards act (whether they give teaching deferments, how many CO's are being granted) is being built up.

6. Literature–
   The office stocks a wide range of literature about the war, the draft, all kinds of Movement activity, and national and local politics. Copies of the Selective Service Law, the Regulations, and Army Physical Fitness Standards are well-thumbed; copies of all available materials for counselors are on hand.

7. Speakers–
   Speakers are available for almost any kind of event. Draft Action Group/Resistance workers represent a wide spectrum of positions on the war, the draft,



THE NATIONAL SCENE:

The Draft Action Group has been in existence for four months. It was started by people who thought America was in trouble, a view which events of these months have only tragically con—firmed. The apparently hopeful trend which began with Johnson's abdication and the Paris peace talks has spiraled downward; the indictment and trail of the Boston Five is only another indication that our political system is in a period of extreme trauma. That example is of particular interest to us.

William Sloane Coffin, Benjamin Spock, Mitchell Goodman, Marcus Raskin, and Michael Ferber were charged with con—spiring to counsel, aid, and abet violations of Selective Service laws. They pleaded not—guilty; Raskin was acquitted, and on July 10 the other four will be sentenced. As Coffin put it, "the war is an issue of conscience. So too is the draft."

The actions of these Resistance leaders (as well as those of the many Resistors who have not been indicted) were designed to place Administration conduct of the Vietnam war before the final source of redress within the existing political system——the Federal courts. The court found the context of their action, i.e. the war, irrelevant to the issue, which it defined as whether or not a conspiracy to violate Selective Service Law had in fact taken place. The "conspiracy", as it was spelled out in the indictment, con—sisted of the defendants' having "com—bined, conspired, and confederated to—gether to commit offenses against the United States." The alleged offenses were counseling, aiding, and abetting violations of Selective Service law, and interfering with the execution of that law. Eleven overt acts were cited in furtherance of the "conspiracy"; all of these were public events that took place between early August and late October of 1967. They included speeches, distribu—tion of the "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority", and "abandonment of a fabricoid briefcase containing 185 re—gistration certificates and 172 notices of classification" at the Department of Justice.

Since it was opposition to the war that had led the defendants to or—ganize the allegedly conspiratorial events, when Judge Ford ruled that the war was irrelevant the political impact of the trial was seriously weakened. Attorneys for the five were forced to unify their defense around the only major issue remaining to them: the Constitutional right of free expression. Beyond making that argument, each of the five attorneys was forced to defend his client individually. This circum—stance points up one of the problems implicit in attempting to raise political issues, which involve groups of people, through the courts, which traditionally deal with individual cases.

Each attorney presented evidence indicating the degree to which his client had not been a party to the "conspiracy"; because of his peripheral involvement, Raskin was acquitted. The defense stressed the haphazard character of the planning for these events: because the conspiracy indictment depended on their having confederated to *plan* violations of law, rather than on their participation in the events (these were cited only as proof that their planning had produced concrete results), how the planning was done became an important point. The defendants ad—mitted having worked with and supported draft resistors, for which they claimed free speech protection; they denied having advised anyone to violate the law. Instead they had counseled men to "follow their consciences."

In his sermon at Arlington St. Church on Oct. 16, Coffin refers to St. Peter: "I love my city, but I shall not stop preaching that which I believe is true... We must obey God rather than men." Coffin goes on to say, "Let us remember that men [such as St. Peter] were not out to destroy the legal order. By accepting the legal punishment they actually upheld it. Nor were they dis—respectful of the law; they broke it as a last, not as a first resort. But they re—spected the law only, they did not worship it, and were determined to bend their every effort to the end that the law reflect and not reject their best understanding of justice and mercy."

Coffin and those who stand with him presented themselves as test cases so that the law, by vindicating them, might show the "justice and mercy"all other governmental institutions have hitherto denied. Whether or not this was a reasonable expectation is debatable: the courts have a history of supporting their government——upholding the internment of Japanese—Americans during World War II is one example. But questions of history aside, the convictions of these men demonstrate that law has flunked the contemporary test.

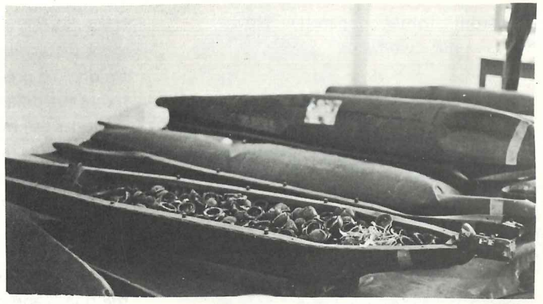
WHERE WE ARE GOING:

Members of the Draft Action Group and the Resistance agree that the trial of the Boston Five only reinforces what many of us already suspected: we cannot expect existing institutions to vindicate us or support us in our work of changing this society. Its governmental super—structure (including the court system) will not contradict the economic interests it is designed to perpetuate; the imperialist economy which produced the war in Vietnam will not re—allocate its resources or realign its foreign allegiances spontaneously. If there is to be change, we——together with the people we live and work with——must begin to make it.

It is in this mood that the Re—sistance and the Draft Action Group have called for a rally and canvassing campaign for July 10, the date of sentencing for Coffin, Spock, Goodman, and Ferber. Their friends and supporters will assemble on the steps of the Federal Courthouse (the Post Office Building) and, after the rally, will disperse throughout the New Haven area to distribute leaflets and talk with people about the war and the draft—— in shopping centers, at theaters, on the streets.

This large-scale attempt to talk with those we have not reached before differs only in size from our day—to—day work. We are young; we have not yet given up believing that this country can be diverted from its present course, that its vast resources can be applied to con—structive ends. We have learned that together we are stronger——both personally and politically——than we are alone. We hope you will join us.

The United States claims that we are only bombing military targets in North Vietnam. The CBU (CLUSTER BOMB UNIT) which the U.S. is using consists of about 300 steel pellets inside of a hollow shell. Between 300 and 400 of these steel shells (with the pellets inside) are contained in the mother bomb. About 6 or 7 of the mother bombs are dropped from one to four planes in a bombing raid on a village.
The Vietnamese have been able to protect themselves from this type of bombing by building one man air-raid shelters and by making extremely sturdy anti-pellet hats made of thick straw. The picture below shows several hats in a rural classroom. These hats will protect a child's head from the shower of steel pellets.



Scattered throughout Hanoi are billboards listing the number of U.S. planes which have been shot down. When a plane is shot down, the province and district where it was shot is listed. Everyone knows which person in his province is responsible for shooting down each of the 2947 planes. (When we arrived in Hanoi, the number was only 2900.) It was interesting to see the difference between Vietnamese and American figures which report less than 1000 planes shot down over North Vietnam. The difference is due to the fact that the United States doesn't report planes shot down over the DMZ, planes shot down over sea or helicopters. For a long time the U.S. didn't report planes shot down which had taken off from Thailand and Laos because theoretically planes were not taking off from those countries.

fish from another cooperative. Now we raise our own fish.

It was startling to us that the Vietnamese could continue to laugh and even make jokes about the war. Their songs have become filled with lyrics of the 'silly F-III planes whose wings go back and forth before they go down.' Their plays, which depict American soldiers in the South attacked by hives of trained bees, delight audiences of factory workers. Optimism flowed from everyone we met.

Of course there are difficulties for the North Vietnamese. The Long Bien bridge leading to Hanoi has been destroyed? it has been replaced by three floating pontoon bridges--one for bicycles, and pedestrians, and one for cars and one for trucks. Nevertheless there is usually a 15 or 20 minute wait to cross the Red River (named for its color, not for a political ideology). But this is only a minor problem for a country which has been bombed more in three years than all of Europe during four years of World War II.

North Vietnam is less developed economically than I had expected. Though electricity exists in the countryside, it has not reached private dwellings. In some village infirmaries there is no central electrical system to provide power for surgical operations. Initially this created hardships but now electricity is generated by peddling an inverted bicycle attached to a motor.

Because of the evacuation from Hanoi, many children and parents have been separated and are only able to see each other on the weekends. This has created strains because of the close family ties. Some children are beginning to filter back into Hanoi due to the partial bombing pause.

From all that I could see while I was there, the United States' bombing seems primarily designed to demoralize the Vietnamese. We saw countless infirmaries, one room schools, churches and pagodas which had been bombed. Along side of one rural road South of Hanoi we saw a disarmed delay bomb which had been dropped several months before. After the United States bombs a dike, no flooding will occur if the peasants can repair it rapidly. To prevent repair teams from fixing the dikes a delay bomb, which explodes ten minutes, half an hour or several hours later, is dropped. But the Vietnamese have developed what is called the Red Flag system which allows them to work in spite of the presence of a delay bomb. After the bomb drops, a young girl runs up to the bomb and puts her hand on it, while repair teams are busily working. A few minutes before the bomb goes off it begins to get hot. At this point she throws the red flag into the air and everyone runs for cover. The bomb explodes and the shock troops return to continue repairing the dike. The Vietnamese have not become demoralized as the United States had expected.

Peasants told us that before their village was bombed they were afraid because they did not know what to expect. Now they know that they can protect themselves and can fight back very successfully. At one ak-ak sight we visited, the commander was apologetic because the three planes which had been shot down over that city were shot by peasants' militia units with rifles and not by his company's eight 37mm. anti-aircraft guns.

On our way back to Hanoi we crossed a little bridge, no more than eight feet long. All the gardens and houses around the bridge had been destroyed. Tzu said, 'All the people who once lived here no longer have homes. They were destroyed because the United States wanted to bomb this one little bridge. We have so many little bridges in North Vietnam. The United States does not have enough money to bomb them all.' Perhaps Tzu was wrong. Perhaps we do have enough money to bomb all their little bridges. But the more the United States bombs, the more the Vietnamese seem determined to defend their country and to develop their society.

North Vietnamese and NLF delegates we spoke to feel that the United States has waged the war to show popular revolutionary forces throughout the world that revolution cannot succeed, and to prevent the growth of socialism. In terms of these goals, United States' foreign policy has clearly failed. The increasing victories of the NLF in the South demonstrate that a people's revolution can succeed. In the North, in some ways, the war has helped the progress of a humanistic socialism. As the Vietnamese would say, with their classic understatement, there appears to be a contradiction.

David Tobis

interview: Ta Quang Buu, educator

The following is part of an interview with Ta Quang Buu, the Minister of Higher Education of North Vietnam. In 1954 he was the chief Vietnamese delegate to the Geneva Conference. Currently he is a professor of mathematics in the University in addition to being Minister of Higher Education. He spoke English fluently.

Q: What is the role of the Party in education?
A: For someone from the United States it is very difficult for you to understand the role of the Party and how it insures democracy. You imagine the Party as someone with a big strong hand. But the Party is a leader whose principal task is to regulate and to educate the relation between man and man in the society and in the college.
We call the relations between man and man class relations. Once class relations are solved, the other relations are very easily solved. I don't imagine democracy without the resolution of class relations.

Q: Is Mao read extensively in North Vietnam?
A: We respect the experience of our neighbors. But for us it is only an experience. Our line is the line of our Party. The lines of all other parties are great experiences but we do not have to put them into practice, otherwise we would have too many heads.

Q: How is Marxism taught?
A: Marxism-Leninism is our philosophy. It is a compulsory subject matter for any school, any discipline, in the social or natural sciences, because we think it is the basis.
The main thing is to teach Marxism-Leninism in a systematic way without being scholastic and dogmatic...
We must make our students proud of the lines of the Party without being chauvinists.

Q: What role do students play in the management of the colleges?

A: The students are the true masters of their colleges. They have the right to tell a teacher that your teaching is not very clear. That you have repeated what I have heard the other day from another teacher. That your teaching does not seem to be fundamental, modernized and very useful to the Vietnamese. An example of what we understand as Vietnamese teaching: for many years we taught in our medical colleges the physiological constants that were relevant for European body-types, so now we have to develop our scientific research to make our teaching Vietnamese.

Democracy in the management or our colleges has played a very great role in the raising of the standards in the colleges. It is not so much in the participation of the students in changing the curriculum. Here the teacher is responsible but he has to consult his students. The principal role played by the student is how to teach, and how to teach to sons of workers and peasants who are not born amidst libraries and who do not have parents who are professors and teachers. 96.8% of our students are from worker and peasant origins. We educate our students in the spirit that they are peasants and workers in colleges. Our motto now is that a Vietnamese soldier is a peasant in a uniform. Our army has class character. Our colleges will have class character.

Q: What role did students play in the Resistance against the French?
A: The role of the students was not great against the French because the number of students was not very great. There were only 500 students in all of Indochina. And the total number of those who had been students was no more than 2,000, so that their impact on the resistance was not very great.

In 1964 when we began the resistance against the Americans with about 20 colleges and 30,000 students for higher education. Today we have 40 colleges and 200 vocational schools. The total number of students is 70,000 for higher education and 140,000 in vocational schools.

Q: How do you integrate theory and practice in the university?
A: What we call practice, we do not mean technological practice because there I think the Americans do better than we do because of your economic development. What we mean by practice is revolutionary practice, the fighting spirit of laboring people; how they solve the problems of production or military questions. Schools and colleges are isolated from that kind of practice.
We have more heroes in the army than in our schools and colleges. When a Freshman enters college morally he is better than when he goes out. Even now. But when he goes from college he is much better in technology and in science. We can tell our government that he is an engineer. But it is difficult to say that he is a better man than when he went in.

Q: Marx said that in a capitalist society family relations are a form of class relations. Do you have this problem in North Vietnam? Is there a generation gap?
A: The parents in our country are still somewhat backward but there is no practical gap. They still want their sons and daughters to be a doctor, a professor, to be someone in the scale of society. In that sense they are somewhat backward in their relations to their children. But the gap is not very great because of democracy.
I have four sons and two daughters. The four sons want to be tankists in the army, not mathematicians. They dislike mathematics because in their eyes their father goes to the office at six o'clock and comes back at six o'clock in the afternoon and does nothing in between.

When we left the interview Ta Quang Buu asked us, when we return to the United States, to tell the American people what we have seen in North Vietnam. He said, 'We are not austere people. We have fought too much and too long not to be respectful of other people's life and feelings.'

(All photographs except the pellet bomb victim are by Dave Tobis.)

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